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605 834 If you hide from your cousin, then anything she has, whether it is money or property, or anything else, she will give to you. You can't refuse a request from a person who hides from you. And it's the same for you if she needs anything.

[183] Since cousin avoidance is voluntary, where it will lead to complications or where the individuals concerned are likely to be thrown together constantly, it is seldom begun.

• 582 602 769 If marriage between cousins is prohibited, is it not difficult, in view of the small population, for a young person to find a suitable mate? Sometimes this problem does arise, and young men have been known to journey far from their homes for the purpose of making contacts which could lead to marriage. That the issue does not become more serious is due to two factors: the mobility and extensive range of these people and their anxiety to eliminate all mention and memory of the dead. Because of the first factor, families, except for nuclear groups of very close kin, tend to move apart and lose contact with each other. And because the names and antecedents of the departed are seldom mentioned, connections between remoter kin are soon forgotten when the families are separated.

605 834 182 When circumstances warrant, the cousin avoidance may be terminated and the more ordinary manner of behavior toward a relative of this degree resumed. The details of the procedure are the same as those governing the abrogation of affinal avoidance.[11]

886 481 782 *Grandparent-grandchild relationships.*—The wish for long life and old age is constantly expressed in prayer and ceremonial song. The staff on which the old person leans has become a symbol of this concept. As one commentator wryly observed: "They pray for the old age staff. They say, 'Let me be old, let me have the old age stick.' If you have the old age stick that means you have reached a long life. But when they get it, they don't like it."

888 887 [787] [852] [276] It is considered a good omen if an old person blesses a child or performs a ceremony over him, for even as this individual's power and ceremony have preserved him to a ripe age, they may protect the child for a generous time span. The same notion is present in the preparation of the first cigarette. "A person's first

[11] See pp. 174–75.

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THE GIRL'S PUBERTY RITE

836 881 *The scene and the actors*—The girl should come to her first menses and her puberty rite a virgin. The proper performance of the ceremony is supposed to grant long life to the singer as well as to the girl, and it is dangerous for a practitioner to sing for a girl who has been "spoiled," for his life will thereby be shortened. When a girl who is about to pass through the ceremony is discovered to be unchaste, she is fortunate if she is not cast off to fend for herself.

881 First menstruation is an important transition point in the girl's life. Before this physiological event and her puberty rite, she is called a girl; afterward the term "woman" is applied to her. Before the rite she is not eligible for marriage; afterward she [582] is considered of marriageable age.

The rite itself has become the focal point for a complex of events—social, economic, and ritual. The term for this interwoven pattern of activities is simply "a ceremony has been set up." Of a girl who is nearing maturity, it is said, "She is one through whom the people are going to have a good time" (i.e., a ceremony and a social occasion). If a girl who is about to enter 881 womanhood falls sick and the shaman who is hired to cure her 754 finds evidence of witchcraft, it is attributed to the jealousy of some evil person. Additionally, it is considered an affront "out of meanness" against all the people. Should the identity of the evildoer be discovered, the ire of the entire community is directed against him.

881 Normally, every girl is the center of such a rite. "A girl who [626] does not go through this ceremony is not discriminated against, but it is thought that she will not be healthy and will not live long." Only a girl who is "poor in relatives" passes through this phase of her life-journey without the proper ceremonial help and the accompanying popular recognition.

Preparations for the rite begin as much as a year or more before the first menses:

> They can go out and get deer [in preparation for the rite] at any time, and they can have the feast at any time of the year. They store things away for it. They notice that their girl is getting to be a young woman, and so they begin to get things ready for the ceremony. They get their in-laws to help at this time.

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MARRIAGE ARRANGEMENTS, MARRIAGE, AND RESIDENCE

582 [584] Most marriages are arranged in terms of a conventional pattern in which the wishes of the families involved carry much weight. The early completion of the girl's training, the need of the encampment for additional young men, and the disapproval of premarital sex experience for women are all factors contributing to the tendency for girls to marry young. Therefore, "the [881] girl is allowed to marry by Chiricahua rule after her ceremony, after her first menstruation."[1]

881 864 At the time of puberty the girl is given the advice necessary to guide her actions in caring for herself at the time of menstruation and in regulating her relations with men:

> They tell the girls how to keep clean during menstruation. There are no restrictions on a woman at this time; she can eat any food and she can go around. But the girls are told to wear their old clothes during menstruation and that they must not leave them around. They are shown how to wear something like a loin- [841] cloth with a pad at this time. The girls are also reminded of the effect of menstrual blood on men. They are told that it makes men paralyzed and deformed, [492] unable to straighten their arms or legs. The girls are also told that they can ride mares but not male horses during menstruation.

881 867 836 581 And they tell a girl that she must stay pure until her marriage, that virginity is expected of a woman who has not been married before. They tell her that a man might leave a woman who is not a virgin, that the maidenhead is the sign of virginity, and if a woman is not proved a virgin by this means at marriage, a man would get angry and the marriage would be broken up.

581 [582] The young man cannot look forward to so early a marriage, for he must first prove his ability to provide for and defend a family by participating in the four raiding parties.

Marriage is considered less a romantic venture than a solid economic arrangement, though personal and individual values are by no means totally eliminated:

> Many of the old people think of marriage from the economic side. They advise a man to marry and have a home because they figure that the man will then be serious, will provide for his family, and get ahead. On the other hand, you can't disregard physical love either. Whether or not the old people think of this, the young ones do. I often hear people remarking that some boy has married just for love and wasn't sensible enough to take a girl who was a good worker and

[1078] [1] Some informants deny this and even complain that "the girls marry too young today," but the evidence of former early marriage is conclusive.

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on the part of persons between whom restraint has been practiced for some time—an abrupt change of demeanor which most individuals do not care to invite.[5]

THE MARRIED MAN AND HIS BLOOD KIN

The formal obligations of a man to his wife's relatives are explicit and numerous, but he is seldom as isolated from his own relatives and friends as a bare recital of affinal relationships would suggest:

There is the word that means one household or home. If the group of related households is very small, if there is only one, or if there are only two or three dwellings in it, you might call this a household still, for we do not like to use the word "extended family" unless there are as many as five or six houses.

"Extended family" means a group of homes occupied by relatives. At the very least an extended family is a father and mother, their unmarried children, and the families of their married daughters.

Several extended families make up the local group. In most cases it includes families which are connected by marriage, and between whose members friendly relations signified by the term "friends we have become" are in force.

It appears, then, that it is not unusual for families whose members have intermarried to belong to the same local group, and often a married man may expect to have consanguineous relatives as well as affinities in the vicinity. One factor which explains why families united by marriage live in such close proximity is the absence, in general, of any obligation to marry out of the local group.

At our encampment we are really an extended family. My father-in-law is here with his father-in-law. I am here with my father-in-law. If my wife's sister marries, there will be another household. Since the people in such an extended family are all related, all the girls and boys of marriageable age are *bilah* to each other and can't marry. But a man doesn't have to go far for a wife, for there are many extended families near by from which he can choose a wife. Being in the same local group doesn't prevent a man from marrying someone. There has to be real relationship to prevent marriage.

This does not mean that a mate is always chosen from the same local group. Previous marriages within the local group may make this impossible: "Marriages like this went on between

[5] Yet polite form can be terminated to accommodate the sororate-levirate (see p. 424).

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621 596 [582] A great many families of a local group are related, but not all of them. Therefore, it does not necessarily mean that a man has to marry outside the local group. The families who make up the group shift constantly. A family will often go and attach itself to some other local group.

621 222 462 The women of a local group are the ones who would go to gather mescal together. Those who went would go and come from the main group. It might be that they'd split off into smaller parties which would later rejoin. It depends on how thick the mescal is in one place and how many people there are.

621 619 484 The members of the local group can go anywhere in the territory of their band, but they are out of place if they go into the territory of another band. An individual or family of the Southern Chiricahua band might join many Southern Chiricahua local groups in turn. . . . .

621 701 726 At the time of a big raid, men from more than one local group might get together, but those from each locality would stay around their own leader. He acted as a sort of captain for them. When they made camp at night, those from one local group would stay together. For boys' training, the young fellows of a local group are the most that would be brought together at one time.

621 602 182 Though allegiance to the local group is brittle and its composition is constantly changing, it does provide a common name, base, and leadership for its members and gives them the opportunity to engage in certain industries in common. In these matters it cuts across the boundaries of the extended family, and, if a married man has blood relatives in the same local group, it offers him the opportunity to co-operate with these kin for many purposes. This means that his horizon is never entirely limited to the interests of his affinities.

THE WOMAN AND HER HUSBAND'S RELATIVES

602 596 The married woman has no formal obligation to labor for her husband's relatives but is expected to carry on her industrial activities in company with her mother and sisters as a permanent member of the extended family in which she was born. Moreover, none of her husband's kin calls upon her to avoid them. To express approval, some of them may, however, use polite form in speaking to her.

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Relatives of a boy can ask the girl he marries for polite talk if they think much of him. His own brothers and sisters and cousins can do this. The father and mother of the boy don't do this. They regard their son's wife as their own daughter. The brothers and sisters of both the father and the mother can do it though. But they don't have to. It's up to them.

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POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND STATUS

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ALL members of the tribe, despite minor differences which exist between the bands, are aware of the linguistic and cultural bonds which identify them as one people and which distinguish them from other groups of the region:

> In customs, speech, beliefs, and manner of dress we people over the other way [west of the Rio Grande] in Chiricahua country are very much alike. There may be slight differences in speech. [It is doubtful that these ever went deeper than some variations in vocabulary.] But we could always understand one another thoroughly. The fundamental things—beliefs and ceremonies—are the same. By these people I mean the Southern Chiricahua, the Central Chiricahua, and the Eastern Chiricahua.

This tribal tie is expressed in a number of ways. The three bands remain at peace with one another. Visiting between members of different bands, especially near the peripheries of the band territories, is a frequent occurrence. Individuals of one band are always ready to attend the puberty rite of the daughter of a member of another band. The social dance songs, with their repeated references to a woman or a man "from a far country," are further evidence of intercommunication. Marriages between members of different bands grow out of these social contacts. Quite often persons whose lives would be forfeit in their own band territory find a refuge in another district.

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The right of members of one band to pass freely through the territory of another band was not challenged until the Americans became interested in controlling the activities of the Chiricahua:

> We [the Eastern Chiricahua] were on friendly terms with the towns around us and we were causing no trouble there. But the Central Chiricahua and the Southern Chiricahua came around. They used to bring in horses stolen from the south, and they got us into trouble.
>
> Some of our leading men said, "There are too many Southern Chiricahua and Central Chiricahua here. They are bringing in horses. They will get us into trouble." But our leader, Victorio, wouldn't do anything about it. He said, "These people are not bothering us."
>
> Then a bunch of them came with some horses from the south. There were